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The social life of Rome is approached from various points of view—the classes of population, business, marriage, household economy, holidays, and religion very briefly. While the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Marquardt, his main source of information has been the literature of the period, particularly the letters of Cicero, which he has made to yield a rich harvest. In a very true sense he has made an important contribution to our knowledge in that he has placed before the student in concise and usable form results of detailed and scattered investigations that are of value only when properly correlated. An excellent illustration of this is found in the chapter on men of business, in which the character and amount of the business carried on in Rome, and the opportunities for free labor, are more clearly described than anywhere else. The discussion of slavery deserves mention for a certain freshness of treatment. Fowler believes that it was not an unmixed evil and that in the economic history of Italy it is entitled to a certain amount of credit. He follows Wallon too in deprecating the wholesale manumission of slaves, and, in spite of our natural disinclination to admit such a possibility, he makes out a good case.

The work has been done with accuracy. Two or three insignificant slips like the statement on page 19 that there were five basilicas in the Forum before the basilica Julia, and that on page 311 that Pompeius built the temple of Venus Victrix "immediately behind the theatre", have been noted, and it would have been better to have given the more careful estimate made by Herschel of the amount of the water supply of Rome, rather than that of Lanciani.

The book will probably not be superseded for many years, and it deserves a place among the reference manuals of all students of sociology and economics as well as among those of students of classical antiquity.

S. B. P.

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. Volume V. *The Republic of Augustus.* By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. Translated by Rev. H. J. CHAYTOR, M.A., Headmaster of Plymouth College. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. v, 371.)

THE first two volumes of this great work were reviewed in this journal for July, 1908, pp. 829-833. The two volumes in the Italian and in the English translation correspond. The last three do not, either in title or content, to the decided loss of the English translation. *The Fall of an Aristocracy*, the English title of volume III., is, it is true, an improvement on the Italian title, *Da Cesare ad Augusto*, inasmuch as it brings out the great historical resultant of the seventeen chaotic years from Caesar to Augustus; but *Rome and Egypt*, the English title of the fourth volume, is a poor substitute for the characteristic though paradoxical *La Repubblica di Augusto* of the Italian edition. And the only mitigation of the paradox in the title of the fourth volume, which was

found in the title of the fifth, *Augusto ed il Grande Impero*, disappears in the unmitigated paradox of the English title of the fifth, *The Republic of Augustus*. For Augustus restored the republic only in the merest form, and left an empire. It is doubtless due to this unfortunate change in titles for the English volumes that four chapters, the East, "Armenia Capta, Signis Receptis", the Great Social Laws of the Year 18 B. C., and the Ludi Saeculares, which belong properly to the fourth volume of the Italian edition, are included in the fifth volume of the English translation.

The first three volumes of the English translation were made by Mr. Alfred E. Zimmern, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, who succeeded very well, in spite of minor inaccuracies, in catching the spirit and swing of the remarkable style of the original Italian. He had a collaborator in translating the fourth volume, Rev. H. J. Chaytor, M.A., Headmaster of Plymouth College, who alone translates the fifth volume. His work is distinctly less faithful to the original, both in form and spirit, than that of Mr. Zimmern.

The preface to the American edition of the fifth volume begins as follows: "The publication of the fifth volume, which completes my study of the Greatness and Decline of Rome, gives to the author an opportunity for a word of greeting to his American readers." But the preface to the first volume of the Italian edition declares the author's intention "to continue the narrative, in succeeding volumes, down to the break-up of the Empire". Has the author changed his original intention? This would seem improbable, as such change would render his title false, the "decline" of Rome having not yet set in. Or would he have us consider the century of revolution and the nearly half a century of Augustus's principate such "decline"? And how about the "happy century" of the Antonines?

This fifth volume continues more brilliantly than ever a historical work which must be called sensational, rhetorical, conjectural, imaginative, but also fascinating and stimulating, and all to a high degree. Authoritative and final, even for a short time, the work cannot be, but it has all the charm of the best historical fiction. The volume covers the years 21 B. C. to 14 A. D. "The years covered by the narrative present the most important epoch in the history of Rome, because it was during this period that Rome became conscious of her mission and responsibilities for the rule of the West. Her attention had hitherto been directed almost exclusively towards the East, but during these years, it was, under the pressure of events, directed towards Gaul and the West."

According to Ferrero, Augustus, who had "restored the Republic", sought also to restore the old aristocracy and the old Roman type of character. The latter he sought to do by the great social laws of the year 18 B. C. These represented the ascendancy over him of the influence of Livia and her party of old conservatives, and Drusus and

Tiberius, the sons of Livia, stood forth as representatives of the old nobility. But the younger nobility, under the influence of Eastern wealth and thought, tended to quite another type—the type of Sempronius Gracchus and the other lovers of Julia. As long as Agrippa and Maecenas lived, the conservative party kept the ascendancy. But Julia's visit to the East with Agrippa, her marriage to and estrangement from Tiberius, her fondness for luxury and display, gradually brought her into the leadership of the party of the young and dissolute nobility. Their intrigues to displace Tiberius in the confidence of Augustus are so far successful that the emperor relaxes the severity of his attitude toward the decadent morals of the time, and remains blind to the notorious adultery of Julia. The retirement of Tiberius to private life is the consequence, and for ten years the empire is deprived of the services of "the ablest man of his time". When he is recalled to the side of Augustus as his colleague in the government, in the year 4 A. D., after the disgrace and exile of Julia, it is to be the real ruler of the empire, and the party of Livia and the old conservatives triumphs.

So far we may follow Ferrero without much hesitation. He successfully tempers the hatred of Tacitus and the *médiance* of Suetonius. But no sound historian can follow him in his great thesis, which took Paris captive, that the conquest of Germany was undertaken only to preserve to the empire the priceless wealth of Gaul, which had suddenly become "the Egypt of the West"; and that Augustus deliberately planned it in order to afford his morally guarded nobility a fit field on which to develop the old Roman qualities. There is too much brilliant conjecture from the scattered hints in Dion Cassius, and too complete blindness to the fact that the Marian tradition, which Julius Caesar and Augustus followed, looked upon the teeming North as the source of constant peril to Rome. When its warlike peoples threatened to inundate the Latin peninsula, then Roman legions had to force them back and establish barriers against them. There was little thought of getting wealth from the North, but much of preserving that of the South. And it was the physical vigor of the people rather than their wealth which made Julius Caesar, and Augustus after him, choose their countries for the training of an army rather than Spain or the East. In due time, after the Romanization of Gaul by Augustus had borne its fruits, the province became the seat of wealth and culture, as did Spain, and both provinces furnished good emperors. But Ferrero insists upon estimating the Gaul of Augustus as one would the Gaul of Antoninus Pius, and altogether too much of his airy structure is based on an exaggerated interpretation of Dion Cassius, LIV. 21 (p. 112, and *passim*).

To the character of Augustus, Ferrero does far more justice than to that of Julius Caesar. But it is impossible to believe, as he would have us, that such a character as Augustus, having once absorbed all the powers of the state, deliberately set to work to build up an able and powerful nobility to which he might safely depute some of the powers

that overburdened him. The revolution, especially the last seventeen years of it, had practically extinguished the old senatorial nobility, and it was a decadent senate which deputed to Augustus all the powers of absolutism. He enjoyed their exercise, and wished his successor to enjoy them, and forged for his own soul its greatest sorrows by the way in which he played fast and loose with the most sacred things in the hearts of his children, in order that he might have a lineal successor—that he might found a dynasty.

With Ferrero's treatment of Ovid one can be heartily content. And this is a great satisfaction after the righteous anger which his treatment of Vergil and Horace has awakened in us. We seemed to detect in his constant sneer the attitude of the uneducated socialist, of the anarchist, toward art and letters. But we have no protest against his sneers at the author of the *Ars Amatoria*.

B. PERRIN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers during the First Decade after the Black Death, 1349-1359. By BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM, Ph.D., Instructor in History at Mount Holyoke College. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXXII.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1908. Pp. xi, 224, 480.)

THE monograph of Dr. Putnam will command serious attention as a study of those restless and problematical years immediately following the Black Death and more remotely preceding the Peasants' Revolt. As the title barely suggests, the work is a study on the administrative rather than the economic side of the history of Edward III.'s noted labor laws, the operation of which is followed through the various agencies of the government employed for their enforcement. For the purposes of a review, the book may be described in two aspects: first as a process of investigation, and second as to its subject-matter.

The investigative process begins with the Ordinance of Laborers of 1349 and the more extended Statute of Laborers of 1351, of which revised texts are given. Commissions and instructions to the itinerant justices of laborers are found in the chancery enrollments, chiefly the Patent Rolls. The fortunate discovery of eighteen small rolls containing fragments of the proceedings of these justices, which escaped destruction in the Peasants' Revolt apparently by the accident of being incorrectly filed among the Assize Rolls, has made it possible, meagre as these records are, to observe the enforcement as carried into the country. By dint of search among the more abundant records of the Exchequer, the King's Bench, and the Common Pleas, as many as 9,000 cases relat-